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2. The headdress of women is white. It consists of a dzhauluk /woman's headdress of white calico/ twisted in the manner of a turban, and under this, completely covering the neck is a hood called kimechek, or instead of this a piece of cloth (ekche) tied around the face. Bii Sultan disapproves the wearing of the ekche in place of the kimechek. The long veil (dzhelek) is made of a piece of silk sufficient for two chemises.

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high cone-shaped cap of felt, with red and black cloth stuck to it inside and out, and richly decorated with fur, gold, silver, corals, pearls and stones. Several owl feathers are attached to the top of it, for /74/ protection against the evil eye, and at the bottom are several strings of corals and pearls, falling below the knee. The saukale is returned to the clan of the wife if she dies childless. The saukale is already going out of use. In its place they wear a simpler headdress called kasabe. The kasabe consists of a cone-shaped piece of felt on which white cloth is wound. The top of the cone, which is turned forward, is decorated with many-colored fringe of Kazakh make.

585

The wedding couple is accompanied by one man and the mother of the bride. If she is dead, the wife of the older brother (yenge) takes her place, and if there is none, then the elder brother goes himself.

As he approaches his own village, the groom rides ahead of the procession, in order to announce the coming of the bride (kelin or kelinchek). The groom's father arranges a kukbure race. The girls of the village go out 3 - 4 versts to meet the procession (aldynan shigady), to honor the bride (kelinning kuanysy). The girls take her off her horse and lead her on foot. They beg various trinkets from her, such as rings, bracelets, corals (mardzhan), necklaces (munchak) and coins which are specially strung for this.

The gift from the bride's mother for the kinswomen of the groom is called murundyk, i. e., for the bridle of the camel.

The bride is conducted into the tent of the groom's father, but they do not show her to him nor to the groom's mother (ene), but put her behind the bed curtains. This night and the following ones, up to three nights, she spends under the curtains with the girls, without her husband. They busy themselves with fortune-telling. On the morning of the fourth day, the ceremony is arranged for the uncovering of the face (betachar toy). If there is a singer (zhirchi), he puts a piece of matting called aktyk on the end of a stick and lifts the curtain for the bride, with verses in which he names all the relatives present, in order, obliging the bride to bow to each person. (1)

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by
• 271 chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses,
411 robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles,
415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevêts] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[492] A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour
231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233] [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds.
182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca-
152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source
131 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221
132 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Man

5: Leychine--186 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 6.

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● 291

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Kirghiz-Kazak Woman

8: Levchine--187 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 7.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Girl

/201 cont. /

141 of the Middle Horde is 192 millimeters, of the Murun clan 192 millimeters, of the Naiman 181 millimeters, of the Baydjigit 192 millimeters, and of the Kirei 197 millimeters, and in the Bukey Horde it is 238 millimeters. The size of the face is small (119 mm. and smaller). Thus among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 117 millimeters, in the Middle Horde 116 millimeters, in the Murun clan 116 millimeters, among the Naiman 114, among the Baydjigit 117 millimeters, and for the Kirei 115 millimeters.

Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Little Horde the face of average size reaches 121 millimeters. The cranial index (the proportion of the length of the skull to its width) shows the following figures for the different tribes. In the Bukey Horde it is 86.5, in the Little Horde 87.5, in the Middle Horde 89.5, in the Murun clan 89.5, among the Naiman 89.5, for the Baydjigit 89.5, and the Kirei 89.0. These



Kirghiz /Kazak/.

last figures provide a basis for calling the Kirghiz /Kazak/ (all the tribes listed above) brachycephalic (short-headed).

142 /202/ It is evident from all the data presented above how much the statistics vary for the different tribes. This shows, as was stated above, that from the physical anthropological point of view the Turks in our region do not constitute a whole. Externally the Kirghiz /Kazak/ may be characterized in this way. His body is quite well-proportioned, with a well-developed chest and a neck that is neither thick nor short. His legs are slightly bowed (from frequent horseback riding), with short lower legs, and the hands and feet are small. The color

/202 cont. /

000 life, by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
 805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it" (dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157

The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced

the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak/ leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy



Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

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/205 cont. /

533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
 [594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
 sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
 honored guests to every family and community festival and given
 534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
 formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
 ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
 of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the



At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
 at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
 Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
 long wooden horn.

531 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
 286 pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
 vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
 patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
 development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
 the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
 /Kazak/.

/207 cont. /

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342
778 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The paternal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth.

[606]

[782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt

("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").



Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342
672 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and

[291]
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to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

184 /210 cont. /
343 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.

184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

• 291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/210 cont. /

291 Kirghiz /Kazak/ wear over the besmet a fur coat, "lkupa," of felting, joined naturally, i. e., on the skin of a sheep or a camel. This is light, but very warm clothing. In addition they wear tanned fur coats and quilted besmet. The sleeves in all the clothing of the men and women are long, taking the place of gloves and mittens for the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

/211/ Their legs are covered by quilted or sheepskin trousers, "shelbary," and thick (ox-hide) boots and felt socks. A conical form of fur hat, called "malakhay," is worn on the head, with long wide earflaps closing behind the neck. The material chosen for the clothing is always multicolored with bright colors and designs.

The costume of the women is quite similar to that of the men. They wear the same long, wide shirts as the men, and wide dambaly, with a loose-fitting dress over it. On their feet they wear the same boots or ichigi, with light lacquered overshoes. The long coats and besmet are fitted at the waist. The girls wear round caps with fur trimming on their heads. The women wear a "kimeshek," a white hood that covers the head and goes down to the shoulders, with a slit in front for the face. /Illustration appears here. / The upper part of the head is covered by a white kerchief, called "dzhauilyk" (the Kirghiz /Kazak/ women do not cover their faces).

292 The bride wears a "saukele" on her head, a tall, pointed, cone-shaped hat with braid, silver plates, and other adornments sewed on it. The top of it consists of a bunch of feathers. Among the other features of the wedding costume of the bride, the colored shawl, "dzhilek," which covers the back of the bride entirely (the dzhilek is attached to the saukele), might be mentioned. The rest of her clothing is the ordinary type, only richer. The attire of the groom differs still less from the usual men's attire, having only the addition of feathers on his cap. Even this, however, could not be considered an invariable difference or appurtenance of the groom's attire.

291 The clothing of boys and little girls is alike in general, except for the arakchin /cap/ which the boys wear even as children.

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Boursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262

(five fingers). Kumiss, boursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called

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/215 cont. /

423 in the use of land exists because of this. Thus, one clan has a thou-
 sand dessiatine of land to a yurt, while another has a few score, a
 423 great deal if as high as a hundred dessiatine. The intensified coloniza-
 199 tion of the steppes has accentuated this abnormality. Finally the
 198 general path of development of the economic life of the Kirghiz
 565 /Kazak/ cannot help but promote it, namely, the appearance of
 agriculture, the transition in some places from a natural (livestock)
 economy to a monetary one, and in connection with this the dis-
 integration of the patriarchal system. The contemporary nomadic
 village no longer represents families of equal rights. In each one it
 is possible to distinguish several
 well-to-do families on whom
 all the rest of the population
 of the village is economically
 dependent. This sort of situa-
 [566] tion (and the dzhentak system)
 [291] is getting stronger every year,
 [492] and especially in the years of
 "dzhuta" (hunger).

→ The former patriarchal re-
 lations have been retained (in
 part) in the customary law in
 the family.



At the fair in Uil. (From a photograph
 by A. N. Chagin.)

[692]
 [614] The court among the modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ consists of "biy"
 (elders in the clan who formerly inherited this duty in the clan from
 generation to generation). Now the biy is elected by 100-200 yurts
 (but he can only be a person no younger than 25, who has not been
 tried and punished). The court of the biy has jurisdiction over all
 cases concerning alien property and lawsuits in general up to 500 rubles
 (but not criminal cases). In addition, final judgments can be made
 on lawsuits involving sums no higher than 30 rubles. In cases above
 this norm the persons being judged can appeal to an assembly of volost
biy (under the /216/ chairmanship of the uyezd chief, and now of the

/218 cont. /

585 they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned,
[583] but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here./ These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for



A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kysz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

/218 cont. /

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts



Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i. e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i. e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyl-datar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accompanied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

(43)

The Kazakhs

142

Physical characteristics. The Kazakh type stands halfway between the Mongolian and the Caucasian. The face is swarthy for the most part, a result of being constantly in the open air - by the fire, in the wind and the frost. Some Kazakhs with pale faces are encountered, but only rarely. The face is broad and quite flat. The head is not especially large; the crown is rounded, more pointed than flat. The cheekbones protrude, but not as sharply as among the Kalmyks and as is general among the Mongols. The nape of the neck is short and the neck long. The eyes are narrow and slightly slanted. The nose is blunt and rounded; the forehead is flat; the mouth is wide and there are large jawbones. The chin is also wide. The beard consists of a small wedge-shaped tuft on the chin. The Kazakhs are in general of medium stature, stooped, often have broad shoulders and are noticeably thickset. In general they are healthy and quite strong, but clumsy. Their walk is slow, but on the other hand when mounted they are skilled horsemen, surpassed in this regard only by the Kalmyks.

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The Kazakh women are all short in height in general. This shortness of the women is probably a consequence of the unusual physical labor which they must perform.

291

The clothing of the Kazakhs consists of long 'kaftans' (long-skirted coats) or 'khalats' (long wide cloaks) (chapan in Kazakh) of camel's hair, cotton or wool material, and sometimes of velvet, and wide trousers of the same material (shelbar in Kazakh), made sometimes also of plush or sheepskin. At the present time all

8:Kostenko -22-G-4,5(1868-80)1880 R11 Turkestan
Kazak RG2

291 Kazakhs with any means at all wear shirts, but
beggars even now wear a khalat over their naked
bodies. In general several khalats are worn,
[302] one on top of another. They cover their shaved
heads, first of all with a small cap (tubetei),
then with a high sharp-pointed felt hat. In
the winter over /339/ the small tubetei they
wear a fur hat or 'papakha' /Caucasian fur hat/
or 'malakhai' (fur cap with lappets) which is
three-cornered and worn with the fur in. On
their feet are leather boots, sometimes with
overshoes (ichigi). They wear a leather belt,
on which hang small bags and pouches with powder
and all this, together with bullets, a knife
and flint (Russiani ognivo) is called 'kalta'.
The clothing of the women is almost the same,
though not split, and is somewhat similar to
a narrow chemise; they also wear khalats on
top. They cover their heads in the ugliest
fashion in a white cloth, sometimes on top of
[302] a cap. They braid their hair in fine braids
and adorn them with coins and rattles. In
general the clothing of both sexes is extremely
ungraceful, not to say ugly, although the rich
have very costly khalats of velvet and silk
embroidered in gold and silver.

411

The weapons of the Kazakhs at the pre-
sent time, after contact with the Russians,
have taken on a more and more European character.
Their national weapon is the spear with a very
long thin staff and the same kind of spearhead.
Because of its length and brittleness this
weapon is not very dangerous, however, the
Kazakhs do not handle it badly. They have
adopted curved swords (klych in Kazakh) from
the other Central Asian peoples and do not
make them themselves. Their guns (multyk)
were activated by a fuse in the past. Now the

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang A11
/The Kazakhs/
Kazak RQ2

S
563 of stable construction. The common people build their winter
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342 tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud
or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the
wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one
room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have
K
[556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani-
[184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

K
[361] The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea-
sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor
to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in
one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year
around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for
protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S
563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs.
K
262 They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to
[191] have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage.
[292] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk,
horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities.
Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they
substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S
563 Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for
K
291 color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and
[191] their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in
[556] white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather
belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver
or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are
hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long
turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple
of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-
in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the
K
[885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family,
and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives.
Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uigh-
ur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S
563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same
K
769 as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding
[191] ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the
anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a
wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion
only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and
family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and
food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There
are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The